

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

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P R 250932 Z MAY 73
FM AMEMBASSY SEOUL
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7992
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 SEOUL 3353/1

EXDIS

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, PDEV, KS, KN
SUBJECT: FOREIGN POLICY CHANGES

REF: SEOUL 3233

SUMMARY: FOREIGN MINISTER HAS INFORMED ME OFFICIALLY OF ROKG PLANS FOR CHANGING FOREIGN POLICY REGARDING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF THE TWO KOREA S, INCLUDING THE KOREAN QUESTION IN THE UNITED NATIONS. BASICALLY THE NEW POLICY IS ACCEPTANCE OF A TWO- KOREA POLICY FOR AN INDEFINITE PERIOD WHILE MAINTAINING THE ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE OF REUNIFICATION.

1. FURTHER TO EARLIER CONVERSATIONS PREVIOUSLY REPORTED FOREIGN MINISTER KIM YONG SHIK HAS GIVEN ME WHAT HE CHARACTERIZES AS THE QUOTE BASIC GUIDELINES FOR A NEW FOREIGN POLICY FOR THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA. UNQUOTE. THESE HAVE BEEN SET FORTH IN A WORKING PAPER WHICH HAS BEEN GIVEN TO US WITH THE APPROVAL OF PRESIDENT PARK. THE GUIDELINES FOR DISCUSSION WITH US ARE THE RESULT OF RECENT RECONSIDERATION OF ROK FOREIGN POLICY AND A HIGH- LEVEL REVIEW OF THE DIRECTION IN WHICH ROKG BELIEVES IT MUST MOVE IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AND THE OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE.

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2. TEXT OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S IS AS
FOLLOWS:

BEGIN QUOTE

1. BASIC GUIDELINES

A. THERE SHALL BE NO CHANGE IN THE NATIONAL
ASPIRATIONS AND GOAL OF THE PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION
OF THE COUNTRY; ACCORDINGLY, THERE SHALL BE NO
RECOGNITION OF NORTH KOREA AS A STATE;

B. THE SECURITY OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA SHALL
BE FIRMLY MAINTAINED AND FOR THIS PURPOSE THE UNITED
NATIONS FORCES SHALL CONTINUE TO BE STATIONED IN KOREA;

AND

C. UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES THAT PEACEFUL UNI-
FICATION WILL REQUIRE CONSIDERABLE TIME, AFFAIRS
BETWEEN THE SOUTH AND NORTH SHALL BE REGULATED AS
TEMPORARY AND INTERIM MEASURES (MODUS VIVENDI).

2. ITEMS TO BE DISCUSSED WITH THE UNITED STATES

A. TO KEEP ALIVE THE NATIONAL ASPIRATION FOR
PEACEFUL UNIFICATION OF THE COUNTRY, THE KOREAN
GOVERNMENT WILL NOT RECOGNIZE NORTH KOREA AS A STATE;

B. THE UNITED NATIONS FORCES SHALL CONTINUE TO
BE STATIONED IN KOREA, SO LONG AS THE MILITARY THREAT
FROM THE NORTH REMAINS TO EXIST;

C. IN NO CASE WILL THE UNITED STATES RECOGNIZE
NORTH KOREA, AS LONG AS USSR, RED CHINA AND OTHER
MAJOR COMMUNIST COUNTRIES DO NOT RECOGNIZE THE REPUBLIC
OF KOREA;

THE UNITED STATES WILL COOPERATE WITH THE REPUBLIC
OF KOREA TO DISCOURAGE JAPAN AND OTHER MAJOR FRIENDLY
POWERS FROM RECOGNIZING NORTH KOREA, SO LONG AS USSR, RED
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CHINA AND OTHER MAJOR COMMUNIST COUNTRIES DO NOT RECOGNIZE
THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA;
UNITED STATES CONTACTS WITH NORTH KOREA WOULD BE
CONSIDERED ONLY TO THE EXTENT THAT THE AFORESAID
COMMUNIST COUNTRIES HAVE CONTACTS WITH THE REPUBLIC OF
KOREA;

THE UNITED STATES WILL COOPERATE WITH THE
REPUBLIC OF KOREA TO DISCOURAGE THE MAJOR FRIENDLY
POWERS OF KOREA FROM EXPANDING CONTACTS WITH NORTH
KOREA, SO LONG AS THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES DO NOT START
AND EXPAND CONTACTS WITH THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA;

D. THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA WILL NOT POSE ANY
OBJECTION TO THE PARTICIPATION OF NORTH KOREA IN
THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS;

E. AT THE COMING UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY THE KOREAN
GOVERNMENT WILL NOT SEEK DEFERMENT OF KOREAN QUESTION
AND IT WILL NOT RAISE OBJECTION TO THE PARTICIPATION
OF NORTH KOREAN DELEGATION TOGETHER WITH THE DELEGATION
OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA;

F. THE KOREAN GOVERNMENT WILL NOT OBJECT TO THE
SUSPENSION OF FUNCTIONS OF UNCURK, UNTIL SUCH TIME AS
FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR UNIFICATION ARE CREATED:"

AND

G. IF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA IS ADMITTED TO THE
UNITED NATIONS AS A MEMBER, IT WILL NOT OBJECT TO THE
ADMISSION INTO THE UNITED NATIONS OF NORTH KOREA,
PROVIDED THAT SUCH SIMULTANEOUS ADMISSION WILL NOT BE
DETERMENTAL TO THE UNIFICATION OF THE COUNTRY.

END QUOTE

3. IN PRESENTING THESE GUIDELINES, THE FOREIGN MINISTER SAID
THE PRESENT PLAN CALLS FOR PRESIDENT PARK TO ISSUE,
ON OR ABOUT JULY 10, A STATEMENT INCORPORATING THE NEW
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PRINCIPLES. AT THIS STAGE THE ROKG WISHES TO HAVE A
THOROUGH DISCUSSION WITH US ABOUT THIS MAJOR POLICY
SHIFT. IN ADDITION TO REACHING A FULL UNDERSTANDING
WITH US, THEY ALSO WISH TO DISCUSS HOW BEST THIS POLICY

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AGAIN STRESSED
HIS GOVERNMENT'S DESIRE TO MAINTAIN THE SECRECY OF THESE
PROPOSALS AND REQUESTED ONCE AGAIN THAT WE NOT DISCUSS
THEIR CONTENT WITH ANY THIRD COUNTRY. AFTER
REACHING AGREEMENT WITH US ON TPZ GUIDELINES, THEY
WOULD THEN DRAFT A FORMAL STATEMENT TO BE MADE BY PRESI-
DENT PARK - KEEPING US FULLY INFORMED. THEY PROPOSE
TO INFORM OTHER ALLIES AND FRIENDLY POWERS ABOUT 48

HOURS IN ADVANCE OF ISSUANCE.

NOTE BY OC/ T: (#) OMISSION. CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 SEOUL 3353/2

EXDIS

4. I TOLD THE FOREIGN MINISTER I WOULD TRANSMIT THE GUIDELINES AND HIS COMMENTS TO WASHINGTON. I WOULD HOPE TO HAVE OUR VIEWS SHORTLY. HE SAID IF THERE ARE ANY POINTS ON WHICH THEIR PROPOSALS WENT TOO FAR, OR NOT FAR ENOUGH, HE HOPED WE WOULD TELL THEM. THEY WERE SEEKING OUR FRANK COMMENTS AND HOPED TO BE ABLE TO REACH FULL AGREEMENT WITH US AS TO WHAT WAS THE BEST POLICY TO PURSUE.

5. SAID THERE WERE A FEW POINTS ON WHICH SOME CLARIFICATION SEEMED CALLED FOR AT THIS POINT. THE GUIDELINES SPECIFIED THAT THE ROK QUOTE WILL NOT OBJECT UNQUOTE TO THE ADMISSION OF NORTH KOREA INTO THE UNITED NATIONS. WAS IT ROK INTENTION TO CALL FOR DUAL MEMBERSHIP AND IN EFFECT PROPOSE THAT SOUTH AND NORTH KOREA ENTER THE UNITED NATIONS? HE SAID THIS WAS A POINT ON WHICH THEY WOULD LIKE TO SEEK OUR VIEWS. ROKG WISHED TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE AND THE BEST FORMULA MIGHT BE TO INVITE NORTH KOREA TO JOIN IN REQUEST FOR DUAL ENTRY. THEY WERE CERTAINLY OPEN TO ANY OPINION WE MIGHT HAVE ON THIS SCORE.

6. I THEN NOTED THAT THE GUIDELINES ALSO USED THE SAME FORMULATION OF QUOTE NO OBJECTION UNQUOTE TO THE SUSPENSION OF UNCURK. DID THIS MEAN THAT ROKG WOULD BE PREPARED TO PROPOSE THE SUSPENSION OF UNCURK? HE SAID IN THIS CASE
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ALSO THEY WISHED TO GIVE THE APPEARANCE OF TAKING THE INITIATIVE AND THE FORMULATION USED DID NOT EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY THAT THEY COULD CALL FOR THE SUSPENSION OF UNCURK.

7. I NOTED THE SAME PHRASEOLOGY RELATING TO THE PARTICIPATION OF NORTH KOREA IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND TO THE PARTICIPATION OF A NORTH KOREAN DELEGATION IN DEBATE ON THE KOREAN QUESTION. HE SAID THE PHRASEOLOGY IN THESE CASES ALSO WAS SUBJECT TO CHANGE AND THAT THEY WOULD BE INTERESTED IN OUR VIEWS AS TO WHETHER OR NOT THEY SHOULD MAKE MORE DIRECT PROPOSALS.

8. I TOLD HIM THAT I THOUGHT THE SECTION DEALING WITH THE CONTACT OF THIRD COUNTRIES WITH NORTH KOREA WAS CONFUSING. AS HE KNEW, A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES ALREADY HAD CONTACTS WITH NORTH KOREA AND COULD BE EXPECTED TO CONTINUE THEM. HE SAID THEY WERE HOPING THAT THE UNITED STATES, JAPAN AND OTHER MAJOR POWERS WOULD REFRAIN FROM RECOGNIZING NORTH KOREA UNDER THE CONDITIONS SPECIFIED. IN ADDITION, HOWEVER, THEY HOPED THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD NOT HAVE CONTACT WITH NORTH KOREA WHILE SUPPORTING THE ROK IN ITS EFFORT TO DISCOURAGE OTHER COUNTRIES FROM EXPANDING CONTACTS. I SAID MANY OTHER COUNTRIES WERE ALREADY EMBARKED ON A POLICY OF EXPANDING CONTACTS. HE SAID THAT POSSIBLY WE OUGHT TO THINK OF DISCOURAGING QUOTE SIGNIFICANT UNQUOTE EXPANSION OF CONTACTS BY OUR ALLIES.

9. I NOTED THAT THE REFERENCE TO THE CONTINUATION OF THE UN COMMAND WAS FIRMLY STATED AND ASKED HOW THIS COMPARED WITH EARLIER STATEMENTS HE HAD MADE TO ME ON THE POSSIBILITY OF THAT BEING NEGOTIABLE. HE REPLIED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAD COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT IT WOULD BE MORE CONVENIENT TO MAINTAIN THE QUOTE UN HAT UNQUOTE. FROM A SECURITY STANDPOINT WHAT WAS QUOTE ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY UNQUOTE WAS THE PRESENCE OF U. S. FORCES. THIS WAS QUOTE MOST IMPORTANT UNQUOTE AND WAS QUOTE NOT NEGOTIABLE UNQUOTE AS PART OF THE

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THAT WHILE UNDER-
STANDING THEIR DESIRE TO DISCUSS THESE MATTERS IN THE
FIRST INSTANCE WITH THE U. S., I WONDERED IF IT WERE
WISE TO POSTPONE DISCUSSION WITH OTHER ALLIES UNTIL
THE LAST MOMENT. HE SAID THEY DID NOT WISH TO
DISCUSS THESE MATTERS WITH OTHERS BUT RATHER TO INFORM
THEM SHORTLY BEFORE ANNOUNCEMENT. THEY WERE PARTICULARLY
WARY OF DISCUSSING THE GUIDELINES WITH THE JAPANESE.
FIRST OF ALL THEY FEARED LEAKS AND SECONDLY THEY
WERE CONCERNED THAT THE JAPANESE WOULD DISCUSS THESE
MATTERS WITH THE CHINESE AND THE SOVIETS PREMATURELY.
HOWEVER, CONSIDERING MY COMMENTS, THEY WOULD BE
PREPARED TO THINK ABOUT OTHER WAYS OF INFORMING
FRIENDLY COUNTRIESM

11. WE WILL BE SUBMITTING OUR VIEWS ON THESE
PROPOSALS IN A SEPARATE TELEGRAM.
HABIB

NOTE BY OC/ T: (#) OMISSION. CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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